

NSC BRIEFING

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INDONESIA

25 July 1957

- I. Communists have registered spectacular gains in recent local elections in Java.
 - A. In central Java elections on 17 July (for provincial council, 26 of 28 district councils and several municipal councils). with about quarter of vote counted, Commies are leading.
 1. They have 2 to 1 edge over nearest rivals--Nationalists, who won in '55--with Moslem parties trailing far behind.
 2. Of 18 districts and cities which have reported, 14 have swung to Commies.
 - B. Although half of counted vote is from cities where Commies have always been strong, enough of rural vote is available to indicate significant Commie gains in those areas also.
 - C. This trend was also apparent in Djakarta municipal elections on 22 June, where Commies increased their vote by 40% over 1955 despite smaller turn-out.
 1. They rose from a poor fourth to strong second behind Masjumi.
- II. Communist success due to energetic, well-financed campaigning.
 - A. Other important factors have been Communist identification with President Sukarno and his concept of "guided democracy", latter's refusal to support Nationalists as he did in '55.
- III. Momentum built up as result of Djakarta and Central Java voting will stand Communists in good stead for future local elections in two remaining Central Java districts (27 July), East Java (29 July) and Jogjakarta--a sultanate having provincial status

- A. Communists are working hard in all these areas, and probably will win remaining districts of Central Java and Jogjakarta.
 - B. East Java, however, will test capacity of Communists to win in a Moslem stronghold.
 - 1. In '55 Nadhlatul Ulama (NU) won a substantial plurality, defeating second place Communists by more than a million votes.
 - C. Although Communist gains in this area are probable, may not be on scale achieved in Central Java.
- IV. Best that can be said about elections is that Communists will not gain immediate control over areas in which they won since the various councils are only advisory to governors appointed by Djakarta.
- A. Commies, nevertheless, will have gained enormous prestige throughout Java.
 - B. They will undoubtedly exert increasing influence over village headmen, the "grass roots" administrators who usually deliver the votes.
 - C. In addition, Communists will be in a greatly improved position to infiltrate local military and police establishments.

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BACKGROUND

Djakarta voting

	<u>Sept. 1955</u>	<u>22 June 1957</u>
Masjumi	200,000	153,000
Communists	96,000	134,000
Nationalist	152,000	123,000
NU	121,000	102,000

Central Java voting

	<u>Sept, 1955</u>	<u>17 July 1957 (25% of vote)</u>
Communists	2,326,000 (25%)	1,224,000 (50%)
Nationalists	3,032,000 (33%)	614,000 (25%)
NU	1,772,000 (19%)	444,000 (14%)
Masjumi	902,000 (10%)	149,000 (6%)

East Java

	<u>Sept, 1955</u>
NU	3,371,000
Communists	2,300,000
Nationalists	2,251,000
Masjumi	1,110,000

Registered electorate

Djakarta	900,000
West Java	7,800,000
Central Java	10,100,000
East Java	10,900,000

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